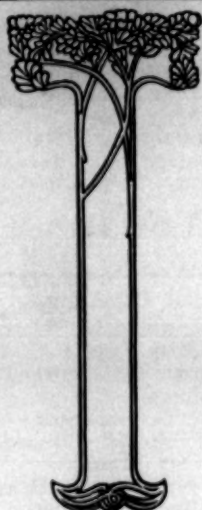


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
35 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 3
No. 1



IRRESPONSIBLE VOTERS IN
SUFFRAGE STATES

FEMINIST MOVEMENT OUTRAGE
UPON WOMANHOOD

THAT HUNDRED THOUSAND
MICHIGAN MAJORITY

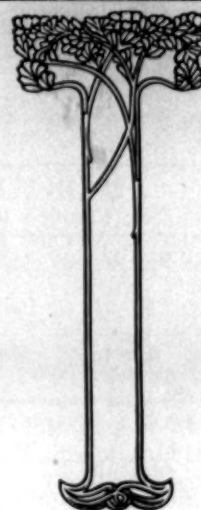
EVIL EFFECTS OF SUFFRAGE
IN CALIFORNIA

ANTI-SUFFRAGE VICTORIES

WHAT WOMEN HAVE DONE
WITHOUT BALLOT

SUFFRAGISM AND SOCIALISM

MAY
1913



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Official records show an immense contrast between the total possible vote in States where women vote and the actual vote. This article compares the record of six "suffrage" States and six adjoining "non-suffrage" States.

The figures indicate either that the imposition of the vote upon women has caused a host of men to evade the responsibility of the ballot or that very few women vote in the suffrage States.

In either case the problem is serious and additional proof of the perils of woman suffrage.

Figures showing the surprising weakness of the total vote of both males and females in the six suffrage States in the last Presidential election and the contrasting high percentage of the total vote in six adjoining non-suffrage States:

WOMAN SUFFRAGE STATES

California—Population 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese:

Males 890,794
Females 665,450

Total possible vote....1,556,244

Actual vote for Presidency....673,527

Colorado—

Males 269,211
Females 213,340

Total possible vote.... 482,551

Actual vote.....266,871

Wyoming—

Males 61,519
Females 28,426

Total possible vote.... 89,945

Actual vote..... 42,296

Washington—

Males 428,825
Females 276,429

Total possible vote.... 705,254

Actual vote.....322,799

Idaho—

Males 108,847
Females 69,761

Total possible vote.... 178,608

Actual vote for Presidency.....104,203

Utah—

Males 101,902
Females 85,648

Total possible vote.... 187,550

Actual vote for Presidency.....111,894

Total population of men and women 21 years or more of age, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese, in six suffrage States, and therefore the total possible vote in those six States.....3,200,152

Total vote actually cast in those six States for the Presidency in 1912 1,521,590

The per cent. which voted.....47½

NON-SUFFRAGE STATES

Kansas—Males 21 years of age or over, exclusive of Japanese and Chinese 508,425

Vote cast.....365,442

Nebraska—

Male votes possible.....352,995

Vote cast.....249,871

Oregon—

Male votes possible.....244,719

Votes cast.....137,040

Nevada—

Male votes possible..... 38,443

Votes cast..... 20,744

South Dakota—

Male votes possible.....178,054

Votes cast.....116,325

Missouri

Male votes possible.....972,483

Votes cast.....698,562

Total men 21 years or over in six non-suffrage States.....2,295,119

Total vote in the six non-suffrage States for President.....1,587,984

Percentage of possible vote cast in six non-suffrage States..... 69

If 69 per cent. of the men voted in the woman suffrage States, as they did in the non-woman suffrage States, an analysis of the figures shows that only 17.8 per cent. of the women voters in the suffrage States actually voted.

Here are the striking facts: In the six woman suffrage States only 47½ per cent. of the total possible vote was cast. In the six non-suffrage States near the suffrage States 69 per cent. of the total possible vote was cast, showing that woman suffrage, according to these statistics, which have been secured from the Secretaries of State of the various States and from the most accurate published figures available, tends to decrease the actual voting strength rather than to increase healthy interest in politics.

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Vol. III.

MAY, 1913

No. 1.



The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARING

The Woman Suffrage Committee of the Senate was reorganized just before the close of the regular session of Congress, and at his own request Senator Thomas of Colorado was made Chairman. He was allowed to make up the membership of the entire committee and put on three Senators from States that have woman suffrage, three who had declared themselves in favor of it and two uncertain. Senator Thomas himself is reported in the newspapers to have said at a monthly meeting of the Federal Equality League in Washington, "I have contended that woman suffrage will not better conditions and I have conceded that it has not, but I maintain that if conditions are no worse after giving women the ballot, then woman suffrage is a success." The newspaper comment was that these remarks did not arouse much enthusiasm.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage wrote to Senator Thomas, asking that if the Suffrage Committee gave a hearing to any committee or body of women representing woman suffrage that the same courtesy should be extended to this Association in order to present reasons for opposing woman suffrage. In a reply to this letter Senator Thomas said: "If you desire a hearing before our Committee at any time your wish will be gratified. The composition of the Committee, however, is such that no argument is necessary from the advocates of woman suffrage. *It is overwhelmingly for the movement.*"

In spite of this discouraging information, it was decided to ask for a hearing, and this was arranged for Saturday morning, April 19th, from ten to twelve o'clock in the Judiciary Chamber of the Senate Building. Fourteen representatives from State Associations Opposed to Woman Suffrage came to the hearing and a very large number of prominent Washington women attended, who were opposed. About one-third of the audience were Suffragists.

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge read a statement regarding the organization and work of the National Association. Papers by Molly Elliott Seawell and Kate Douglas Wiggin (Mrs. George Riggs) were read. Miss Lucy Price told of the campaign in Michigan and Mrs. Francis M. Scott said a few words. The chief address was made by Mrs. A. J. George, who spoke for an hour and a quarter. The Committee listened with the greatest attention and good reports of the hearing were given, not only in the Washington papers, but in the press throughout the country. A printed report of the hearing will be issued shortly.

After the request of those opposed to woman suffrage had been granted, the Suffragists made a similar one in order that their side of the question might be presented, although they had not asked for one before. Apparently it needed two to offset the effect of one hearing of the Anti-Suffragists. At the first testimony was offered by Senators from suffrage States as to the complete success of granting the ballot to women.

Senator Poindexter of Washington made the rather amusing statement that the Anti-Suffragists, at the hearing two days before, had shown such a high order of intelligence that it proved that they ought to have a ballot.

Another hearing was given on Saturday, the 26th, to the National Woman Suffrage Association, at which Dr. Anna Shaw was the chief speaker. She made this most astounding statement: "We are not afraid of the band of women who are going up and down the land fighting our cause. The pity of it is that there are just enough of these good women who by holding out their skirts act as a screen for the proprietors of dens of vice, of gambling houses and other evil men, who are the real opponents of woman suffrage."

"Never has there been a bad man in favor of woman suffrage."

This statement is a variation of her usual one that the Anti-Suffragists are *affiliated* with the gambling, vice and liquor interests, but will probably be equally resented by the enormous number of women already opposing woman suffrage.

OUR FIRST ANNIVERSARY

There is something very gratifying in achievement. To have that achievement appreciated adds much to the gratification. So that we take especial pleasure in celebrating this month the first anniversary of the existence of THE PROTEST. We believe that we have achieved something along the lines which were our aim and we have had the most encouraging appreciation.

One year ago the first issue of this magazine was published, the result of growth, both of scope and need, of an official organ for the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

That this event was coincident with the first suffrage parade in New York is possibly significant. It might be taken as a milestone in both the suffrage and the anti-suffrage causes. The suffrage movement in this country had reached a stage where it broke away from the attempts at educational methods of bringing about woman suffrage and resorted to the spectacular. The Suffragists had shifted from the work of the impersonal advertising of their cause to the personal advertising of themselves.

The anti-suffrage cause, on the other hand, had sprung into rapid growth because of these very things and because the real meaning and danger of the suffrage movement was thrust upon the vision of a hitherto unrealizing mass of men and women, and the demand and reasons for organization were tremendously increased.

And now at the second anniversary of this publication it would seem that another milestone has been reached in the history of these two causes.

Various influences have been at work over the whole country helping to accomplish that which is the main purpose of THE PROTEST, and our chief work has in this magazine been to make more certain the direction of these influences and to strengthen them. It is the education of the whole people in the tenets and purposes of the anti-suffrage cause and the reasons why women prominent and busy in philanthropic and civic work have seen fit to rise up and protest against the ballot being thrust upon them.

THE PROTEST has reflected the views of these women and has attempted to give fair and unprejudiced news of the progress of their cause.

We who have published it are exceedingly grateful for the enthusiastic response made to our efforts and the assistance which has made these reports as inclusive as possible.

Now at the beginning of this second year we are looking forward to a continuation of this work and to a still greater emphasis upon the educational side of the anti-suffrage cause. It is not only "votes for women" with which THE PROTEST is concerned, but the unrest and the twisted ambitions of a portion of the women of the country and certain dangerous tendencies of the age which have grown to serious proportions.

Why the Suffrage Movement is an Outrage Upon Womanhood

By LAURENCE ALMA TADEMA

In Little's Living Age

FEW are the quarrels or disputes which do not tempt the onlooker who loves fair play to hold aloof, because he thinks he sees right on both sides; as soon, however, as the contest reaches an acute stage and there seems to be danger ahead, it becomes that onlooker's duty to support the side on which he sees the greater right.

The struggle concerning Woman's Suffrage has now reached a stage which obliges every thinking woman, however little there may be in her of party-spirit, to come forward and show what she holds to be the truth of the matter, without heatedly discussing points, without entering into any kind of hand-to-hand scuffle. We do not need polemics, but we do need to get at the mind of the silent majority.

A few determined and courageous women in pursuit of an ideal which, be it false or true, is to them sacred, have carried along with them a vast number of impressionable, thoughtless, ignorant, inexperienced, ambitious or unbalanced followers, who are furiously waging war against ideals equally sacred to a still greater number of women.

The whole question of Woman's Suffrage rests on something deeper than the point at issue. No suffragist is really fighting heart and body for the doubtful advantage of going to the polling-booth; she is fighting for the ideal which that act symbolizes, the new ideal of womanhood. The actual question is not therefore whether women shall vote or no, but whether the new ideal of which Votes for Women is the battle-cry shall be allowed victory over the old ideal; whether it is good for the country, for man, for woman, for humanity in general, that the old ideal should cease to be.

The modern woman is not really asking for rights she never had before; she is only asking for them in another form. Nobody seriously doubts that women are capable of taking part in the management of human affairs; for good or for evil they have always done so; but they have done so unofficially, secretly, in apparent passivity. History is full of the ghosts of women, shadowy figures that flit invisibly among the actors of each scene. The women of the past were mostly content to have influence without seeming to have it; their ambitions were of a subtler kind than ours. Behind the present passionate unrest stands the ideal of an unsexed womanhood, pining to show her strength, no longer satisfied to feel it, asking to seem rather than to be, burning to exchange veiled powers, of which somehow she has lost the secret, for common, obvious, tangible rights.

Many causes and effects acting in vicious circles have brought about these changes. Anarchy has breathed in the face of the world, rebellion is everywhere; the Church has lost its hold on men and women alike; discipline is no longer believed in, duty no longer preached; vague and false notions of equality are setting youth against age, inexperience against wisdom, class against class, sex against sex. The whole scheme of female education has changed; the presence of a million superfluous women in the British Isles has strengthened the position of the spinster; young girls no longer dream exclusively of love; marriage is going out of fashion, motherhood is avoided, the home has ceased to be woman's acknowledged stronghold; where her pride and activity once held sway together, she has been swept aside by the power of the certified teacher, of the trained nurse, of the supply store, the hotel. This gradual breaking up of the home has set loose upon the highways a host of faculties, energies and ambitions which once found ample scope and satisfaction within doors—exiled forces which must now go begging elsewhere. The good wife, the devoted mother, the homemaker, are giving place to the student, the open-air girl, the business woman, the ambitious worker in fields where man once stood alone. Competi-

tion and rivalry between man and woman have thus come into being; woman has ceased to care for the protection of man's arm; she has set herself beside him, elbow to elbow, ready, if need be, to elbow him out of her way; she is perfectly willing to stand alone, to find her own pathway, to fight her own fight.

"Votes for Women" therefore means a good deal more than simply votes for women; it must be taken as the voice of an immense desire for self-expression in new ways, a desire reaching far beyond the possession of a vote; anyone with the slightest power of looking ahead must foresee that the fearless rebels now leading their gallant band to the conquest of the ballot-box will never rest content with the empty privilege they ask for; no mere vote will satisfy the rebel woman; we shall see her presently upon the hustings; a little later she will burn to represent her sex in Parliament.

All this would be a foregone conclusion if the women who are now clamoring to exchange fetters, of which they have forgotten the meaning, for a freedom of which they are yet to learn the limitations, were indeed the spokeswomen of their whole sex. But is it true that the whole of womanhood is in rebellion against past usages? Is it even true that all our rebels are touched to the very core? A band of village children running after a showman are not changed in heart because excitement and imitation carry them away unmindful of their mother's voice. We need not conclude, perhaps, that the whole of womanhood has suffered metamorphosis because a certain number of exceptional women are drawing a fascinated crowd in pursuit of new horizons.

Most women, if we could reach their inmost thoughts, would probably be found convinced that things are best as they are, that if laws once framed for their protection are now a little narrow it would be wiser to alter them slowly and soberly; most women would realize that they have drawbacks, physical and natural, which, rightly interpreted, guide them to the proper use of their peculiar faculties; they know what their proper work is in the world, and what is man's proper work; they know, too, that if they want their men to be true men they themselves must be true women. Only thus can the world's business be accomplished.

We are too apt to lose sight of the fact that humanity is in the bulk normal. The newspapers have a way of bringing the abnormal to our daily knowledge, causing us often to forget that most human lives follow a common cause. Good legislation is founded upon the necessity of keeping as many men and women as possible along the course most likely to lead to the well-being of the majority. It is impossible that any change in the position of women should be good which is not in accordance with the unalterable needs of womankind in general; and because what is not good for woman is consequently evil for man and for the State, it becomes our duty to place the welfare of the community before the desires of any exceptional group of individuals.

A certain number of women are doomed to remain single, are driven to do man's work; but we must not legislate merely in the interests of the abnormal minority. The woman who is neither wife, mother nor home-maker is abnormal; considered as a woman, she is a failure; however great her value in other ways, it is not of such units that a nation is upbuilt. The national unit is indeed neither man nor woman singly, but man and woman together, more particularly that union between the two which finds expression in the home. Whatever tends to weaken this unit, to destroy collaboration between man and woman, is evil, and must be fought as a public danger.

Woman and man are not equal in anything but in the value of that difference between them which makes each indispensable to the complete development of the other. Where one is strong

the other is weak, where one is blind the other sees, where one fails the other wins. We need each other; but we need each other's difference, not each other's similarity. Our common life is most rich, most powerful, when we best understand how to value each other's peculiar excellence, how to reinforce our unlike strengths by a wise division of labor. This division of labor has been defined so clearly by a physical law that it seems inconceivable we should ever have been able to stray far from the understanding of what is symbolized by the separate powers and separate duties that mark parenthood.

Every now and again in the history of human development we find men and women rejecting some ideal as worthless which is probably only worthless because they have failed to live up to it. This is like rejecting Christ because a church is stagnant or corrupt. The ideal that shines behind marriage need not be cast aside because the bond of interchange has lost too much of its strength and of its sweetness. It will remain an ideal so long as civilization tends towards order and away from chaos. We have seen the marriage tie adhered to ignobly, nobly broken; we have known it to be the source of great wrongs, of wrecked lives, of tragic grief to the individual; yet we all acknowledge it to be an ideal that we may not renounce. It means far more than the union for life of any particular man and woman who have chosen each other, more than legitimate fatherhood and motherhood, more than the creation of a home, the formation of a national unit; it symbolizes that interchange of forces, spiritual as well as physical, which alone makes it possible for human life to be productive and complete.

When we see gross and tangible proof of failure in marriage—when the woman goes to work and the man loafs about like a brute, when the slatternly wife runs the streets and the husband comes home to a fireless hearth, when the mother sends the babes out to beg and the father drinks the children's bread, when the strenuous lady goes to meetings and the gentleman goes on the turf, when the wife has a lover and the man his own haunts, when the children are left to strangers and the parents drift from hotel to hotel—our sense of fitness is outraged. For most of us cling fondly still, if in secret, to the old ideal of the guarded home, of the bread-winner's return to the cheerful hearth, of the nursery with a mother in it, of hands clasped in silence beside the children's bed, of loyalty, fidelity, all that life-long interchange of service, forbearance, respect, encouragement and love which we once pictured as marriage.

What we fail properly to feel as an outrage is present violence threatened to that principle underlying marriage, which is nothing less than the bond uniting in just and true relationship the whole of manhood to the whole of womanhood. Humanity, being composed of two separate forces, male and female, neither in itself complete, creative only when united, can only hope to achieve greatness by the blending of these forces in noble collaboration. The misunderstanding of this principle, the attempted substitution, as it were, of sterile comradeship or criminal rivalry for harmonious fertile union between the male and female forces of the world, is the danger that lends gravity to the whole feminist movement.

The use of all revolutions is manifest; they serve to break up the rigidity of hardened laws and customs, they destroy in order that something new may be upbuilt. The fault of our age is that we are destroying too fast and too thoughtlessly on all sides, that the ground at our feet is encumbered by too many shattered temples which we have neither time nor skill to rebuild.

Woman's revolt has broken up many an ancient sanctuary once needed for her protection, the walls of which now seemed too narrow, the vaulted roofs too low. It is time to begin rebuilding; only we must take care how we rebuild, in what spirit we reshape our altered boundaries. There is immense difference between slavery imposed and freedom surrendered. A vast number of women in the past have believed themselves slaves; an equally vast number in the future will be led by a sense of fitness,

by love, by the voice of their whole nature, to accept freely and with pride the very limitations they are now flinging from them.

It is a very grand thing to be a woman, quite as grand a thing to be a man. We cannot hope to be great as man is great, because his greatness is of another nature; his creative forces are external, ours internal; yet who shall choose between our strengths? There have perhaps been as many women of genius as men of genius, only the world has not always heard their names; they gave all they had to the men they loved, to the children they bore. When we look back upon even a few of the women whose lives we have watched or known of, when we consider their purity, their wisdom, their devotion, their patience, their goodness, their silence, we can never feel that it means little to be a woman.

Because we have strengths, intuitions and virtues which man lacks, and which he needs in exchange for gifts which are peculiarly his, looking towards the possibility of a nobler and better humanity, we cannot see it otherwise than formed of women who shall have developed, to the utmost, those particular strengths, intuitions and virtues which must needs be blended with the best of man's forces if a noble race is to be. No country that desires supremacy can afford to encourage the production of the sexless being, neither of the woman who seeks to do man's work, nor of the man who fails in manhood. It needs men that are men and women that are women.

Whatever woman may be worth in individual instances, she is only valuable to the community by reason of her womanhood. That is why we ought to fight the so-called feminist movement, which is actually an outrage upon womanhood. Let us make it easier for women to be women, let us take care that they are not driven to be less than men. The undesirable usurpation by woman of that part of the world's work which is properly man's must infallibly lead to neglect of that part which is her own. Women in the mass should never be pushed into public life; the fighting part of life is man's. If, instead of holding aloof from the battlefield of public affairs, woman jumps down into the thick of the fray, she is bound to forfeit all those mysterious gifts of insight which once enabled her to help her mate; it is her place to stand apart, aloft if may be, watchful, serene and grave, prepared to warn or to encourage, ready to bind wounds; her voice should only be heard in rare moments, her hand only raised at the call of dire necessity.

The woman who thinks she can get anything worth having by shrill shrieks, or by the shaking of spasmodic fists, is in the wrong. If she wants power she can always have it, through legitimate use of the influence possessed by every woman worthy of the name. To her own intrinsic powers there is no limit, save that of her folly, of her insufficiency, of her lack of faith in the eternal traditions of her sex.

In these traditions the women of England have more faith perhaps than the present seems to show. Therefore, even if the vote be imposed upon us against the will of the silent majority, even if we be doomed to flounder on in a state of discord, leaving our men unaided in the great social struggle now confronting all, failing England, perhaps, in an hour of danger, it seems more than certain that the future will see our return, along the circular path of progress, to the immovable starting-point of an indestructible femininity.

The study of human life and history teaches us clearly that the swing of the pendulum makes for equilibrium. No outrage upon natural laws is tolerated in creation; whatever wins a temporary advantage by any form of excess, meets with a repellent force of equal strength, which, soon or late, imposes order.

Every disintegrating action now at work must inevitably bring about a salutary reaction. This does not mean that we have any right to stand aside, idle spectators of grave issues; each one of us has a part to play, however humble; no influence is too slight to serve as an impulsion towards the ultimate restoration of balance.

Reasons for That Hundred Thousand Majority in Michigan

BY LUCY J. PRICE

THE majority against woman suffrage in Michigan last November was 732. At the election of April 7th it was this majority that had jumped to 100,000.

When the voters of a State are overwhelmed by a change of sentiment toward this question of equal suffrage to such an extent as that with five months' time the causes back of the change must be of vital concern to everyone interested in the suffrage movement, whether he be for or against votes for women.

The one great element of satisfaction to the Anti-Suffragists in this particular victory, aside from the specific delight in having prevented the loss of Michigan to suffrage, lies in the demonstration of what they have always believed—that when the people really begin to think on this matter, and when events tend toward giving them an understanding of both sides—then the anti cause is safe.

And the ways and means through which these Michigan voters were made to think on this fundamental question are decidedly interesting.

The statement of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt on the matter is amusing. Mrs. Catt says: "We are disappointed in Michigan because we believe that the majority in that State really believes in woman suffrage. We are disappointed to have to realize that the evil people in a community can entirely overthrow the will of the majority."

Mrs. Catt apparently has forgotten that this was a referendum election which defeated suffrage in Michigan. At a referendum **NOTHING CAN SUCCEED EXCEPT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.** It is a physical impossibility.

There is no way in which either good or evil forces can "overturn the will of the majority" at such an election. The people who wanted woman suffrage voted for it, whatever might be their motives for wanting it; the people who did not want woman suffrage voted against it, whatever might be their motives for not wanting it. This seems fairly simple of comprehension, and we believe is indisputable by the most ardent Suffragist who will take time to consider for a moment.

It is simply a question of what made the majority against it.

The first thing which impressed those of us who went to Michigan to help support the local workers was the constant repetition to us from men of both city and farm of the words, "Yes, I voted for suffrage last Fall, but I'm not going to this Spring. You see I hadn't thought much about it then—didn't know the strong sentiment against it of the women themselves. And someone would ask me to vote for it. So I promised. I thought it wouldn't carry anyway, and if they wanted it, why not?"

That was the task for which the splendid body of women of the State organized last January, and after the legislature had submitted the question to the people in February began an active campaign against it—to answer that question, "Why not?"

And apparently their answer was satisfactory to those who had wondered.

The entire credit for the tremendous result of that April election may be given to the women who organized against suffrage. A strong organization of men was formed to support them and much of the active work of the campaign was carried on by this men's organization, but they organized only because they wanted to aid the movement started by their wives and daughters and mothers.

A headquarters was opened in Detroit, from which letters were written and literature distributed and where questions might be answered. Then the last few weeks of this short campaign additional headquarters were opened on the busy part of Woodward avenue. Here crowds of men and women came every day

to learn why this great number of the sanest and most public-spirited women in Detroit were fighting woman suffrage. Cartoons in the window not only served to point an argument, but to attract the attention of the passersby.

The men's organization made an effort to distribute literature in every part of the State and as nearly as possible to every voter of the State. And as much of the State as possible was covered by speakers.

These efforts, to be sure, could not pretend to compete with the Suffragists. Literally tons and tons of literature were distributed by them, reaching practically every voter of the State. Twenty speakers were there toward the end of the campaign, and certainly not the most disappointed Suffragist could claim that the people had not been thoroughly coached upon all of the Suffragist hopes and promises.

We believe then, considering all the circumstances of the campaign, and the fact that all of the other amendments offered to the voters at the same election, every one a so-called progressive measure, was passed, it is perfectly fair to state that the reason for the increase of 99,268 votes in the majority against suffrage lay in the fact that the women of the State who organized against it, led by Mrs. Henry L. Lister, president, proved two things to the voters. These women proved first of all that the men were not voting for the women of the State in thrusting suffrage upon them, and second, they were able to make the men see why they didn't want it; made the men realize that the "antis" have a positive side to their arguments and do not merely stand and say, as the Suffragists insist, "We do not want to vote and therefore you cannot."

We believe the men were only too glad to be convinced of these things—they did not want to vote against suffrage unless they could do so conscientiously. And we found everywhere a really tremendous interest in our meetings.

The two things which always weigh against suffrage in an active campaign were of great influence in Michigan. These are the demonstrations that when women go into politics they become the same practical politicians that men do, which considerably weakens their promises to "clean up politics," and second, the sight of what the voters are doing to our social order when they thrust women into politics.

The stand of the Suffragists upon the liquor question was enough to prove this first point. In Detroit and the other large cities of the State their speakers and writers denied any sympathy with the prohibition cause and kept reiterating that woman suffrage never had hurt the liquor interests and never would—which is perfectly true.

In the smaller towns and the rural districts, however, where they believed the prohibition sentiment to prevail, they constantly accused us of alliance with the liquor interests and attempted to give the impression that the only hope for the prohibition cause lay through the women's vote.

This "carrying water on both shoulders" was not encouraging to those Suffragists who were such because they believed the entrance of women into politics meant the downfall of the less desirable political methods.

Then the personal attacks upon the "antis" proved the unpleasant position into which women would be put if in politics they found it impossible to agree with every party, faction and platform, and the injustice of placing an unwilling electorate in this position impressed itself upon the men. The personal campaigning methods of those who were struggling for the vote in order to make politics more dignified also carried weight.

In brief, the voters of Michigan in the seven weeks between the second vote of the legislature and the election gradually realized that there was work in the world which must be done,

which can be done only by women, and that women cannot through the vote govern any better than men can, and that the special work which must be done by women and the special way in which it must be done, is bound to be impaired if women are thrust into the maelstrom of practical politics and suffered to endure the same blows of warfare which men must and which must be borne by all who do enter in that special way—as a politician and voter.

Of course, the Suffragists have denied all this and have brought out their constant slogan of defeat, "The liquor interests did it." But it is rather interesting to remember that the liquor interests of the State were just as powerful and just as well organized before that November election as they were in the ensuing months when the vote piled up to 100,000.

It is true that one county liquor dealers' association—in McComb County—did send as an ad. to a paper one of the leaflets issued by the women's organization Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Apparently they believed that suffrage would hurt them—in spite of the past history of suffrage and of the emphatic denials of the Suffragists themselves. This, however, was just one organization and expressed the opinion of a few of the liquor dealers of the State. Of course, it is unnecessary to state that this was done without the knowledge of the women or the men of the Anti-Suffrage Associations. The very names of the women which appeared on the dodgers were such names as to make everyone who knew them or of them understand this perfectly. Not one cent was received by these women from the liquor interests to carry on their campaign, and so far as the influence is concerned, it is probably that the part played by the liquor interests lost as many votes as it won.

For absolute proof that the victory was not due to the liquor influence one has only to consult the tabulated vote of the counties.

Six dry counties out of thirty-five went for suffrage, and in every one of these six and of the other twenty-nine dry counties the vote for suffrage was tremendously cut down. One vote was the majority in one of these six, and Genesee county is a good example of an entirely reversed majority. Genesee, which is a dry county, went for suffrage last Fall by 1911 votes. This Spring it went against it by 1,321 votes.

The Granges, Gleaners and other rural organizations, which were claimed by the Suffragists, would also seem to have "gone back on them," as the Suffragists expressed it, according to this tabulated vote.

A WONDER AND A PROPHECY

When all the women in the land have caught the suffrage germ,
When on the rock of equal rights their feet are planted firm,
When in the sea of politics they're learning how to swim,
We wonder who will welcome us when day is growing dim.

We wonder who will lend the grace to beautify the home;
The lure to coax within its doors the prodigals that roam;
And who will tuck the little ones in bed at close of day,
And comfort all their childish woes and teach them how to pray.

When scathing days of trouble come and life is deadly drear,
We wonder whether there will be a gentle voice to cheer.
When lurking illness lays us low will there be one to smooth
The wrinkles from our restless couch, a velvet hand to soothe?

Alas! alack! we fear not so, for mother, sister, wife,
Will be as men in men's pursuits, intent on party strife;
There'll be no babies in that day, and superficial man—
Why he will have to scratch along and do the best he can.

FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ.

Anti-Suffrage Victories of the Past Thirty Days

Since the last issue of the PROTEST there have been several noteworthy defeats for woman suffrage, and in each instance they were especially encouraging to the Anti-Suffragists because they were in States where there had been thorough agitation for the suffrage cause.

First came Connecticut, where the House defeated the proposed suffrage amendment by a vote of 150 to 74—more than two to one.

The Suffragists had campaigned this State with all the force and persistency possible. Because it was a small State with a 43-year-old suffrage organization it seemed a good place of attack to obtain their wedge into New England, and they were decidedly optimistic of results.

The committee reported against the amendment by a vote of six to two, which is the first time a committee on the question has not reported unanimously in favor of the bill, since it was first introduced into the Connecticut legislature many years ago. The House then upheld the committee's report, which is the first time that the first House to which the bill was presented has not passed it as "a vote of courtesy." It has always been left to the second House to defeat, but the men this year had come to realize the seriousness of the matter and killed it absolutely for at least two years.

A municipal suffrage bill was introduced into the senate at the same time, at the recommendation of the governor, and although the Suffragists declared at their hearing that such a bill was an insult and very objectionable to their body, since the defeat of the universal suffrage bill, however, they have decided to take anything they can get and have made a fight for the municipal suffrage. If their measure is defeated it will be the only party measure to be lost this session, as the senate is strongly Democratic.

Then came the great victory at the people's referendum in Michigan, and following close upon the heels of that victory for the anti-suffrage cause, Massachusetts fell in line with all of the rest of New England and voted strongly against it on April 18th.

The Drury "straw ballot" suffrage bill, which provided for an expression of opinion by voters at the next State election upon the constitutional amendment admitting women to the polls, was rejected by the Massachusetts House by a vote of 113 to 73. Another woman suffrage bill, the so-called Bliss substitute bill, had been previously defeated by a vote of 139 to 53.

Maine, the extreme northern point of the Atlantic coast, defeated the proposition to submit the question of woman suffrage to the people, and Florida, the extreme southern, has had it adversely reported by the committee, and a poll shows the House will sustain the report.

And in Iowa, where the measure had been delayed for several weeks, it was finally decisively lost.

One interesting thing about the talk of "suffrage victories" is the change in attitude of the Suffragists immediately upon the submission of the question to the people by a legislature.

While the matter is before the legislature the Suffragists beg the members to submit it to the people as a matter of proper procedure whether or not they themselves favor it.

"It doesn't mean that you are voting in favor of suffrage," they have cried before every legislature where the matter has come up. "It means only that you want the people instead of the legislature to decide it."

Then when a legislature does take that view of the affair and votes to let the people decide it, then the Suffragists exclaim about "another suffrage victory," "another legislature votes for woman suffrage."

Evil Effects of California's Experiment With Woman Suffrage

WOMAN suffrage was imposed upon the State of California by a minority of the voters. Now the entire population, men and women, are feeling the evil effects of this dangerous experiment. It earnestly behooves every citizen—both men and women—of those States where a small minority is seeking the enfranchisement of women to read this report compiled from official records, newspapers and the letters of resident and visiting investigators in direct touch with the situation in California.

The official election figures prove the contention of Anti-Suffragists that the better moral element among women does not vote. And the elections prove that many women of the "submerged tenth" do vote for undesirable and vicious measures.

Suffragists contended that the women of California wished to vote, to have "a voice in the government" of the city, the State and the nation. It was on such representations of a few enthusiastic Suffragists that California women were enfranchised in October, 1911.

"Women want the vote. Why not let them have it? It won't do any harm and it may do good," reasoned the majority of the minority of men who voted on this constitutional amendment.

Do the women of California vote?

Do they vote in city elections? In State elections? In national elections?

Has woman suffrage in California done harm?

Has it done good?

The correct answers to these questions may serve to guide the action of other States confronting this serious problem in government.

Because of its wider interest, let us first consider the national phase.

The Bureau of the Census at Washington states that there are 920,397 males and 671,386 females of voting age in California. Eliminating the Chinese and Japanese, who have no vote, there should have been 860,794 men and 665,450 women registered (less those not naturalized, of whom there are more men than women).

Secretary of State Jordan, of California, is authority for the statement that 802,000 men and 180,000 women registered to vote at the Presidential election on November 5, 1912, a most interesting and important national election.

These figures show that of those entitled to vote over 93 per cent. of the *men* registered and only a fraction over 27 per cent. of the *women* registered.

And this at the *first* national election, when the tinsel had not yet worn from the Suffragists' toy!

Beyond all shadow of doubt, then, at least 73 per cent. of the women of California do *not* wish to perform the duty of voting in national elections. This 73 per cent. does not include the many women who voted to offset the vote of misguided women—and not because they wished "a voice in the government."

What then of the number and kind who vote in local or State elections? Just two recent instances:

In Pasadena on March 20th, this year, a special election was held to vote on bond issues, some of which would enable the purchase of land for public parks and playgrounds. Out of a voting population of 16,324 (city clerk's figures), 4,672 voted. The votes of men and women are not kept separate, but it is clear that at least 50 per cent. of the women did not vote.

In Los Angeles on March 24, 1913, there was a more important election, one involving radical and socialistic changes in the city charter. A Citizens' Committee of 1,000 advocated in all the newspapers the carrying of certain propositions and the defeat of others. Sample ballots marked "Vote No," "Vote Yes" were distributed broadcast. Only 31,000 voters (men and women) out of 161,000 voted at all, and nine out of ten of the propositions advocated by the Reform Committee were *defeated*.

The *Los Angeles Times* of March 26th says: "The vote of the women was disappointing. In some precincts it was a negligible quantity, while in others it was only about one-third of the total." Yet the Suffragists carried on an active campaign, attended and spoke at all-day meetings and even worked at their headquarters all Easter Sunday.

Has woman suffrage in California done harm?

The saloon question is one which Suffragists say women will settle when they vote. Their favorite attack is that the anti-suffrage campaign is financed by the saloon interests. Anti-saloon workers favor control of saloon evils by means of local option. A local option election was held in San Francisco late last year. What happened?

There were 121,000 possible women voters in San Francisco; 45,665 women and 89,023 men were registered and entitled to vote; a total of 78,857 did vote. Remembering that the papers had been urging the adoption of the local option amendment in order to control the saloons and lessen crime during the approaching exposition, the Suffragists would have us believe that at least all the women who registered would vote. Yet only 15,087 votes were cast in favor of the amendment, although 45,665 women registered, and it is stated that approximately one woman in eight who was interested enough to register took interest enough to go to the polls.

At a special election held in Berkeley, Cal., April 12th, on the issuing of bonds for playgrounds, about 1,500 of the 8,000 women voters of the city voted. The mayor, who has been a zealous worker for women suffrage, reprimands the women for their negligence of this particular issue, which of all others should interest them. In a newspaper interview he asks, "Where were the mothers?"

Thus one of the crying evils of our day has been aggravated by the enfranchisement of women in California—the evil of an irresponsible or disinterested voting class who do not vote. This sort of negligence and indifference is resulting in government by a minority. That there is opportunity enough for evil results is indicated by the fact that eight or nine distinct elections were held in Los Angeles in the year 1912.

The dereliction of the new voters and its evil effects are further revealed by this letter from a San Franciscan written February 26, 1913. "The Suffragists in other States are asking for the vote, as they say, 'to put down vice.' Albany, Cal., had a local election two weeks ago and the 'drys' were snowed under, although, as the local paper states, over 50 per cent. of the Albany voters are women.

"I notice that when a State is about to vote on suffrage the Suffragists adroitly pass it around that the saloon interest and white slavers are raising funds to defeat suffrage, knowing that their occupation will be gone. This argument has made converts of thousands of the very best people. But these interests are organized, too, and know through their agents that in the suffrage States the wind sets in their direction. And why not? At the cost of some space let me explain. When suffrage is granted to women only a small vote can be brought out in minor elections. But the class with personal interests at stake *will* vote. Those, too, do not neglect to vote who find their ballot has a money value. Note how many affiliated interests are pulling with the saloon interest. Hotels, clubs, restaurants, brewers and the people they buy from. Now their wives, their sisters, mothers, cousins and their aunts get out on the streets and bring their friends to the polls. As for 'the submerged tenth,' they had formerly no political strength. Now they can vote and use their influence, which is not benign."

That this warning is not an idle one is confirmed by the information that Pasadena, which had been "dry" ever since it was founded, voted "wet" the first time women voted.

John W. Foster, former Secretary of State of the United States, returned to Washington last month after four months spent in California. He writes the *Washington Post*: "My study of the subject, my intercourse with its people and my careful reading of the local press led me to the conviction that the amendment of the State constitution conferring the franchise on women was a serious error, and that so far in actual practice is not proving an unmixed blessing to the State, counties and municipalities. The amendment was adopted by a minority of the legal voters. I met many women who were opposed to it and quite a number who since its adoption have never gone to the polls. Some towns formerly 'dry' have, since the granting of female suffrage, voted themselves 'wet.' So-styled reforms, adopted since the amendment, have proved impracticable or unwise in enforcement. * * * In a city whose newspapers I read daily the voters were being called upon to resort to the registry office, primaries, and the polls four different times in thirty days. The result usually is that the busy citizen and the laboring man, finding it inconvenient to devote so much time to the affairs of State, stay away from the polls and leave the elections, in large measure, to the idle and such as obey the call of the political manipulators, and often the actual voters constitute a minority of the legal voters. The conclusion reached during my four months' stay in California was that it would be wise for the older States of our Union to await the result of the working out in practice of these 'modern' measures of government by such adventurous States as California and other more recent members of the Union."

A San Franciscan sees a reflection of the "baleful suffrage influence" in the increasing divorce rate in his own city. He writes: "San Francisco in proportion to its population grants nine times as many divorces as the City of New York. From a State report just published, there were in 1912 thirty-seven hundred divorces granted here."

The *San Francisco Chronicle* sees in a proposed two-year State budget of \$48,800,000 for 2,500,000 people an evidence that extremists are in control of the government.

We have seen that the enfranchisement of women in California has done positive harm.

Has it done good to offset this harm?

Suffragists claim that the one great good accomplished was the defeat of race-track gambling. But we find that the race-track measure would have been overwhelmingly defeated whether women had voted or not. Because as less than one-third of the women entitled to vote took the trouble even to register, and fewer voted, gambling could easily have been legalized had the men wished it.

In view of the facts brought out in this article, is it not the part of wisdom to withhold the burden of the ballot from those who do not want it and will not use it, especially since granting the ballot to a few Suffragists imposes a burden upon the entire State?

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION GROWING

At the request of the District Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, the President of the National Association went to Washington for the week beginning April 14th. With her were two speakers, Mrs. A. J. George, of Brookline, and Miss Lucy J. Price, of Cleveland, Ohio. Three meetings at private houses were arranged, for which invitations were sent out, and two public meetings, the largest being in the hall of Carnegie Library. The audience of men and women packed the hall and great interest was shown in the speeches made by Mrs. George and Miss Price.

As a result of these meetings many members were added to the District Association. The feeling against woman suffrage is very strong, owing to the impressions made by the woman's parade and the attack on Major Sylvester, who during that week was exonerated of neglect of duty by the Congressional Committee of Investigation.

What Women Have Done Without the Ballot

BY W. T. CLAVERIUS.

The principal exhibits insistently displayed by the Suffrage Cause are concrete examples of what woman has, by virtue of her ballot, caused to occur in suffrage States.

In analyzing each case—and the exhibit is neither varied nor extensive—it is evident that basic common decency alone was the actuating motive. Men and women alike in all walks of life, irrespective of the possession of the ballot or not, vehemently arose and denounced conditions which had become intolerable and were inimical to the public peace and to personal security. Where the ballot was concerned it had become absolutely mandatory upon those who possessed it to utilize it in effecting a change in these conditions.

On the other hand, notable and numerous examples occur in the history of our country where women, without the ballot or the slightest desire for it, interested and incited large majorities of men to action and to utilize their votes against a dominant evil.

A striking example was the fight made against the Louisiana State Lottery, extending over several years.

This company was originally incorporated by a reconstruction legislature January 1, 1869, for a term of twenty-five years. For its charter it was required to pay the State \$50,000 per annum, \$40,000 of which went to the Charity Hospital of New Orleans, an institution vital to the city's needs.

The new State constitution, adopted in 1879, granted this company plenary powers. It became one of the most marvelous money-making concerns ever devised. The stockholders quickly were made millionaires, its influence was nation-wide. It affected the law-making power of the Commonwealth, controlled and debauched the people. Especially pernicious was the effect of the daily drawings on the poorer classes, which were still further impoverished. A few cents only were required to purchase a ticket. It meant temptation to the youth, the denial of food to the hungry and lack of sustenance to thousands of infants. School children and their parents, gamblers and their parasites sought by every means to secure the coveted prizes, and tickets were everywhere obtainable.

The opposition to this state of affairs began in the Constitutional Convention of 1879, but it came to naught. It had taken root, though, and in 1890 the fight was begun by a body of men before the legislature of that year. An impetus was needed. It came:

On January 27, 1889, 145 women of New Orleans formed an Anti-Lottery League, which immediately became instrumental in sustaining the opposition. The members of the League increased in numbers as rapidly as did its cause in strength. Men, women and children in all the homes of the State were appealed to. The lottery forces on their side were using all the influence of their wealth to thwart the effect. The one issue in the next State election for governor and legislature was whether the lottery charter should be continued or not. The cry for abolishing the evil was met by the warning not to destroy the source of revenue of a State greatly in need of revenue. The crisis arrived.

Election day, April 20, 1892, resulted in a complete overthrow of the lottery by a majority of upwards of 40,000 votes, carrying nearly every parish of the State.

Great was the rejoicing and the honor of the victory was accorded the determined women of Louisiana—not one of whom had cast a vote.

It is a bit interesting in this connection in realizing what women can do without the ballot, to remember that the four women in the Colorado legislature voted AGAINST THE ANTI-RACE-TRACK GAMBLING BILL.

ALL TRADES FOR WOMEN?

The following editorial from the *New York Sun* of April 19th furnishes stimulus to a second and possibly more serious thought on the part of those who have prated glibly about "economic independence for women":

Most of us men folk have applauded perhaps too lightly, sentimentally, condescendingly, even ironically, the multiplication of opportunities for the employment of women. Before the staring startled eyes of men whose opinion of a woman preacher was substantially Dr. Johnson's, they have not merely adorned the pulpit and the bar, been distinguished as physicians; these were professional occupations which might be regarded as extensions of the place as teacher which has been peculiarly theirs in the United States, that robust region so desolated by "feminism." That women should be mathematicians, astronomers, geographers; that in the world of learning, imagination, art, literature, the pursuits of the few, they should strive or succeed, was no considerable encroachment on trousered superiorities and privileges; was small gain from the days when our fathers or grandfathers used to point with a not unamused obligingness to Mrs. Somerville and Maria Mitchell.

Cheer them on, encourage the worthy creatures; that was the man's way of looking at the butterfly going back to the grub. There was always more or less opposition among the invaded profession; but the mass of the people was not touched.

Probably men in general, fatuously convinced of their own unassailable sovereignty, have regarded a great evolutionary movement as a freak or joke. The political side of that evolution, the "emancipation" of woman, has met with no determined obstacle among men. "Let them have it if they want it," "they will get it if they want it," "nothing is too good for them"; so may be put the unconscious, unthinking, ignorant, insulting opinion of the majority of men as to woman suffrage.

Meanwhile, marriage as a "career," as the career for women, is vanishing or has vanished from the minds of no small part of the girls and young women who have the best opportunities, the best education, the best minds, the best breeding. Very well; let them be settlement workers, artists, "bachelor girls" and so on. Here again the unenlightened minority, which is the majority of so-called educated and fortunate men, sees nothing; and the great serious mass that counts, the skilled laborer, the day laborer, the "small" clerk and bookkeeper, the people who may have illusions of their own but don't share those of the leisured and "educated," have not been concerned. Their art, mystery and business is making a living. When anybody, man or woman, looks likely to interfere with that, to make the competition harder, then what has seemed to be a fantastic interlude, a far off, theatrical parade, a pageant of Girton and Barnard, becomes an ugly reality.

A few years ago in the list of women artisans was mentioned a female boiler-maker of Chicago. An anomaly, a jest, nothing to sting the sensitive self-interest of wage-earning men. What will they think of this frank statement in the call for the biennial convention of the Women's Trade Union League:

"The establishment of schools for women bricklayers and brickmakers, the in-

roduction of women street-car conductors and messengers, women coremakers in foundries, women taxicab drivers, even a woman smokestack painter, are only a sign of the time when all trades will be thrown open to women, even if it should be for the purpose of creating cheaper labor."

Cheaper labor, lower wages must be the inevitable result of such a female invasion of the trades. The painted devil of "Free Trade" has ceased to frighten; but what protection have laboring men against this swamping of their trades? Consider the hard manual labor that women do here and abroad. Is there any wage-earning industry that they cannot thrive in? *The Sun* takes no stock in the old gulling gossamer theory that they are incapable of military service. Multitudes of them are more capable of it than many men. Multitudes of them now work harder than most men who think themselves overworked. And, as a rule, they can live on less food and prosper on lower wages than men can.

The political claims of woman, claims most and principally advanced by women who are not working women or the relatives of workingmen, are only a toy of fancy compared with the claims and capabilities of women to compete with workingmen.

When workingmen get it into their heads that their wages and their jobs are threatened by woman competitors the woman "movement" will cease to be an elegant nothing; it will come home poignantly to the mass of men; and it will have to make a fight against an opposition implacable with the instinct of self-preservation instead of the present half-hearted and smiling feint at resistance of people who don't much care.

The Sun speaks here impartially and without prejudice. It merely indicates the difference between a masque of college girls and a relentless war for economic survival.

JILL OF ALL TRADES

By Anna M. Fielding

Now Jill was a woman of Suffragist class,
Who tried to do much—unsuccessful, alas!
Her ambition was great, her ability small,
She thought without vote she was held in
base thrall.

She claimed that no man could excel what
she knows,
Nor recognized handicaps sex does impose.
She struggled to be and accomplish so
much,
Success was a height she could not even
touch.

A wife and a mother, a teacher, a nurse,
Politician, musician, and then what is
worse,
She attempted so much, nervous wreck she
became;
Sanitarium's the place she's now playing
the game.

Her family and friends gave a sigh of relief;
They were weary of suffrage beyond all
belief;
The home seems more peaceful; they say
everyone,
"A Jill of all trades and a mistress of
none."

SUFFRAGISM AND SOCIALISM

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE PROTEST:

"The Socialists confidently assert that when there is woman suffrage Socialism will follow. Consequently, they are not only working as hard as they can to secure it, but they are conducting an extensive educational campaign among women. The pamphlets and papers printed by the Socialists prove this beyond a doubt.

"I want to call your attention to the pink pamphlet which urges foreign women to become naturalized. The Socialists say that the women Suffragists or Suffragettes are merely striving to enfranchise women while they, the Socialists, are striving to show women what to do with the ballot when they get it. Socialists regard woman Suffragists as fellow-workers or comrades, but also as a sort of 'weaker sisters,' as they term them. They say that these Suffragettes are really Socialists, but do not realize it. They must, the Socialists assert, be educated in Socialism and that is the reason now that they feel there is a possibility of woman suffrage for their conducting their present vigorous campaign of education and naturalization.

"Perhaps the question will arise in your mind as it did in mine when I first became associated with the Socialist propaganda, how is it that the Socialists hope to turn women more easily to Socialism than to turn men? The Socialists always ask and answer this question themselves. They say there are three reasons: First, women suffer more under the capitalistic system than men. They are the slaves of wage slaves, they say.

"Secondly, women suffer more under the present so-called 'double standard of morality' than men. Socialism promises Free Love. By Free Love they are very careful to say that they do not mean promiscuity, but they desire to do away with 'marriage and all other ceremonials that are useless and ridiculous' and to have in its place a 'mutual understanding' that can result in 'quick, easy divorce at the will of either party without the red tape and mud slinging of to-day.'

"Thirdly, women are not already committed to other political parties as are men and would more readily join the Socialist Party, since they will have to join some.

"For the prediction of what the Socialist woman vote will be I refer you to *The Progressive Woman*, a Socialist publication.

"Now, my reason for writing to you is this: I do not think that the average woman who professes to be a woman Suffragist or to be indifferent realizes just what woman suffrage means. They do not understand that it means Socialism with all that it implies—the abolition of private productive property and the doing away with marriage and the home as we know them to-day. In place of the present structure of society we would have the 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Personally I have no respect for the woman Suffragists who demand 'Votes for Women' on the ground that we will get a Utopia and then don't tell us how. But I do have the utmost respect for the Socialists, although I do not agree with them, who assert that woman suffrage is merely a means to an end and then tell us exactly what that end is and how it will work out.

"I have watched with a good deal of interest the work of your Association and I can see that it is making great strides in its endeavors. "Signed) G. B."

Endorsement of Militancy by American Suffragists

The militancy of one body of English Suffragists has become something of more importance to this country—and to the whole civilized world—than simply a matter of ridicule or amazement.

Anti-Suffragists have been slow to inject the question of the hysterics and crime of those English women into the campaign for "votes for women" in this country. And not until the Suffragists themselves, the suffrage organizations of this country, through their leaders, took the initiative in that direction did the "antis" treat it as related to the general cause.

It was the Suffragists of this country who, by refusing in even a single instance to condemn English militancy, and by publicly and officially expressing sympathy for its criminal leaders, made militancy a true issue right here in the United States.

And now Mrs. Belmont has taken a bolder step and declared, according to newspaper interviews, that she was going to stay with Miss Pankhurst in London "to study militant methods," and that "if the Suffragists were defeated in New York in 1915 'something' would happen here."

Therefore we believe a few letters and editorials which appeared recently in New York papers may be of interest as bearing upon this frightful condition, endorsed by many American Suffragists and condemned by few.

The *New York Herald* of April 9th says:

HYSTERIA, ANARCHY, VOTES

The lurid doings of the Suffragettes in England have much more than a distant and academic interest here in America. They are much more than a subject for merely humorous allusion, though they lend themselves to that so well that the temptation to laugh at the plight in which they are putting the English government is almost irresistible.

The question of votes for women is a real live issue in this country, however, and it possibly may not be long before "the same fable will be told to us." Michigan has just rendered adverse verdict upon "votes for women." Within a very short time now there is no question that the men of many Eastern States, even of New York, will be called upon to decide whether women shall have the suffrage or not.

It may be well to emphasize for that coming time what the lessons of the news of the day are. Our American Suffragettes approve the English militant movement, so that it will be quite fair to draw conclusions.

Here are a number of intelligent indi-

viduals—not a few of them college graduates—all of them well above the average in education, who insist that if the government under which they live does not grant their demands at once they have the right (some of them say the duty) to make life as difficult as possible for their fellow citizens until their demands are granted.

And further:

Reductio ad Absurdum

Those who do this may be taken as fairly representative of the women who demand votes. They have let their feelings overcome their reason. They have let hysteria usurp their judgment. Are they not convicted by their own acts of incapacity for a share in government?

They are demanding rights with violence, but depend on the popular feeling for their sex to escape punishment. Suffragette militancy is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole cause of political rights for women, since it practically proclaims that any class of persons who cannot obtain what they consider their rights have the privilege to interfere not only with the functions of government, but also with trade and industry until their demands are granted.

If this is to be the new development of government by all the people, then indeed it is time to pause. If it is only the sure sign of that world-old tendency of most women (not all) to go to extremes whenever they are deeply interested, because at moments of stress emotion rules them, then the wisdom of the ages in keeping them out of politics is completely vindicated.

During the past two months the crimes, outrages and ridiculous performances of this band of English militants and suffrage leaders in this country have been so much more outspoken in their sympathy and in many cases in their unqualified approval that a few Suffragists here have waked to the real tendencies of the present suffrage movement and have risen to protest. However, their protests only add to the ire of those Suffragists who insist that burning and wrecking the property of non-combatants is simply a necessary "struggle for an ideal."

Mrs. Andrew D. White, of Ithaca, upbraids the woman suffrage leaders in the following communication:

"To the Treasurer of the National American Woman Suffrage Association:

"DEAR MADAM: I have received four appeals for contributions to the funds of the association.

"I was brought up in the camp of woman suffrage. I am a member of the Society of Friends, and so naturally believe in equal opportunity for the sexes in every direction. The Friends, with great ad-

vantage to their women, and no less to their men, have preached and practised this from the time of George Fox, who, three centuries ago, dismissed the matter in a few words, as a simple axiom. Although in later years I have come to doubt the present expediency of political enfranchisement for my whole sex for exactly the same reasons that I doubt that of universal suffrage in the form in which we have it—I have been inclined to think that having gone so far, we might as safely, perhaps even more safely, make the experiment complete.

"I have not failed to reflect upon the foolishness of my sex, as displayed in their shoes, in their hats, in their want of pockets, in the daily increasing absurdity of their dress generally—in their card playing at all hours, in their complete abandonment of all effort to control or train their daughters in mind, in manners, or even in morals—witness the present style of dancing—and the futility of most of the training of private schools for girls. This reflects, of course, the incompetence or indifference of parents generally. I also believe that the high prices now prevailing are largely due to the neglect of the great body of women to study or practice economy, or to teach it to their daughters. Neither in school nor in college do I find that any considerable number of young girls are taught, or required to keep, any kind of accounts. No dressmaker or milliner, of the slightest pretensions to elegance, seems to have encountered the notion of economy, in respect to price, durability, or in any other particular, in her whole experience. Any woman fairly well off who regards the subject of dress from this point of view feels that she is very much the exception.

"I have been always disposed, however, to excuse much of this feminine incompetence and folly, and the obsession with dress, which seems to become every day more marked among American women of all conditions, on the ground that the foolishness of men has always been largely responsible for that of women, and that if women were given better things to think of they would surely rise to a higher intellectual plane and a lower angle of heel. (I say 'rise' for both advisedly.) And I never until lately admitted to myself the possibility of our essential inferiority—such as that, in matters of government, we could without outrage be classed with children, with idiots and insane, and with criminals.

"But now that I see our own kinswomen across the sea sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind—sowing seeds of lawlessness which we may see in our own day, I greatly fear, blossoming in an anarchism more terrible than anything yet known to history—and when I see our own women protesting feebly or not at all, and even, to some extent encouraging, I have not a cent to contribute nor a word of sympathy for any association of women which does not publicly and earnestly protest against such a line of procedure. It resembles the kicking and biting of spoiled children, the raving and gibbering of insane and idiots—and the unbridled license of the most abandoned criminals. All these classes think solely of what they want, and self-constitute themselves arbiters of what they should have. What it may cost other human beings, innocent though they be, for them to grasp at the objects of their desire by whatever means may come to hand, does not touch their minds; and so it would seem to be with those women of England; and so, also, with those of our own women who condone their offenses—

who would condone such action in any cause.

"Believe me, madam, sincerely and respectfully yours,

"HELEN MAGILL WHITE.

"ITHACA, N. Y., April 11, 1913."

Rheta Childe Dorr and other Suffragists replied to this in rather illogical but quite emphatic letters.

One of the most interesting and most pointed letters which has been written on this question is the reply printed below to Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch's proclamation that she "will stand with the fighters for political liberty everywhere:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN.

"SIR: May I supplement your excellent argument of last evening against the position of Mrs. Blatch with a few words regarding a point upon which you did not touch? Mrs. Blatch says in closing: 'Nor should our own Government for lack of reminder be allowed to fall away from its position of regarding the English militant, no less than the Russian revolutionist, as a political offender.'

"Setting out in the pathway of analogy is a parlous undertaking; there are so many pitfalls for the feet of the unwary. In this case Mrs. Blatch fails to perceive that her assumed analogy does not exist, for the simple reason that the two terms necessary for its life do not parallel. Our whole theory of government and society rests on this solid base: So long as there is freedom for the propaganda of peaceful change, resort to force is wickedly unjustifiable. Every salutary human interest is opposed to Mexicanization. Reason, argument, persuasion, education—these are the just and potent forces in social evolution. No militant claims that in Great Britain the advocates of the vote for women are not free to write and print and circulate books and pamphlets, papers and magazines; that they are not free to assemble and present their reasons for their demands; that they are not free to reason individually with doubters and opponents. What of conditions in Russia? Have the enemies of abuses there, the friends of change, been in the enjoyment of this liberty? No; all the world, including Mrs. Blatch, knows this. Then where is the parallel that she attempts to make between the situation in Russia and the situation in Great Britain? There is none. If peaceful propaganda had been possible in Russia the revolutionists would have been common criminals instead of political offenders, just as the English militants are common criminals instead of political offenders.

"If the militants, impatient of slow but sure progress through educational propaganda, are to be classed as political offenders, what assurance is there that, when the ballot becomes theirs, they will not resort to their present tactics whenever the wheels of legislation move too slowly to suit them? Is social war to continue and be speciously justified because choleric women and men find it more suited to their temperaments to antagonize and terrify than to attract and convince by the use of reason? It is amazing that to-day it is necessary to affirm that in any country where press and platform are free for the discussion of a grievance that not the torch and bomb, but the speaker and the book are the symbols and agents of sanity and civilization.

"EDWIN C. WALKER.

"NEW YORK, April 9th."

Distinct Point of Morals in Way Girls Dress

A woman from abroad, at the conclusion of her American visit, said: "Either it is that you have an astonishing number of girls of the undesirable class in America, or two classes of your girls are dressing exactly alike." The truth, of course, lies in the latter part of the statement.

It has for some time been current comment among observing people that in the question of dress it has become almost impossible on the street to distinguish one class of girls from another. Nor is this fact so surprising when one analyzes the situation. The Parisian fashions that come to America are not those that the nice women of Paris wear: they are essentially the styles of the mannequin and the Parisian underworld. The American counterparts of these French women know this, and copy their foreign sisters, as it is perfectly proper that they should do. What is the hallmark of a particular class of women on the streets of Paris, known to every Parisian, becomes the hallmark of the same class in America. But the French girl of modesty never wears these styles, and that is where our American girl of modesty goes astray. She does not dress like her French sister, but like the girl whom her French sister disdains. We have got things mixed-up a bit in this country, as far as Paris fashions are concerned, and the time has come when American parents of daughters should wake up to this fact. It is not at all an impossible transition from the Parisian imprint upon the hat or the dress to the Parisian imprint upon the character of the wearer.

What we must not forget is that there is a distinct point of morals in this question of how a girl dresses. When we see young girls, as we saw them in larger numbers last summer than ever before, brazenly or innocently displaying in their attire their physical rather than their innocent charms, the fault is not so much with the girls as it is with the mothers who permit them to buy and wear such clothes. The excuse that mothers cannot control the attire of their daughters is begging the question: a mother is a pretty poor failure when she has to confess such inability. When a girl is permitted to buy and wear the amazing hats that she wore last year, set on a head loaded down with puffs and "rats": the waist so thin and transparent as to be absolutely indecent, with sleeves so short and

neck so low as to transgress the line of decency, and a skirt so tight that the figure is displayed at every step, with stockings of the thinnest transparent silk, there is a question of morals involved that is tremendous.

There is no sense in our being shocked at the social evils that exist and threaten our young girlhood at every turn so long as we directly add to these evils, yes, bring many of them about, by allowing this shamelessness in the dress of our daughters. It is all well enough to deplore the vicious habits of men, but is this sort of dressing calculated to check them? It is hard to see what the mothers, or fathers, or guardians, of these girls are thinking about to allow this sort of dress to go on. It deliberately courts danger, and then when danger comes, and its deadly result is stamped on the girl for her lifetime, the parents are in tears or they explode in anger. But why? They deliberately invited the danger in the girl's method of dress. Why be surprised that the method succeeded? Rather let them and us be surprised when a girl escapes danger.

It is nothing short of a crime to allow an unthinking young girl to wear clothes that, when she goes out into the world, are the very signals of danger. She doesn't know. How could she? But her mother does, or her father, or her brother, or her sister. Some older person is responsible for allowing the dangerous dress, and that same one will be directly responsible if danger comes to the girl and she goes under.

Every mother of a young daughter is a tremendous factor in this question. She may think that she is only one woman, and, as such, is powerless. But she is watched by some other mother; her girl is looked up to by some other mother's daughter, and so the circle widens from one to many, and an influence is set in motion that it is impossible to control or recall.—*Editorial, Ladies' Home Journal*, April, 1913.

At an election held this past month in Los Angeles it was estimated that by precinct officers that the women cast not more than one-fifth of the vote.

In the United States it's the poor down-trodden man who goes on a hunger strike when his wife becomes a Suffragette.

SHALL CHARITY WAIT ON SUFFRAGE?

The appeal of the Suffragists that no money be given to various philanthropic movements until "votes for women" is a reality is forcing upon the people a realization of just what the leaders of their cause are advocating. The following letter to *The New York Evening Post* is typical of the effect this may be expected to have:

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST.

"SIR: The National Suffrage Association has issued a statement prepared by the chairman of the ways and means committee, and apparently sent it broadcast to Suffragists, Anti-Suffragists, and indifferent, appealing for funds to carry on their work. This statement, as some extracts will show, is significant of many things, and most forcibly so of the fact that the faith of the workers for suffrage in the interest and support of the general public is not, and is not likely to be, borne out by works—an appeal for money is no new thing. This one states that 'the Association is in urgent need of \$15,000 to carry on its work until the next annual convention. Unless this amount is contributed immediately, the National Association will have to stop work and close its doors. Its creditors cannot be paid and suits will be begun. Not only the National Association, but the *Woman's Journal* and the cause of suffrage will be discredited.'

"Until the question of giving the vote to women is affirmatively settled, the devotion and energy of many of the most public-spirited women must of necessity be turned aside from constructive social work, in order to obtain what is only an instrument with which to carry on such work. Woman suffrage is the next step to be taken in the evolution of the modern State. Until this step is taken we are only marking time. For the next few years subscriptions to other great causes may well be withdrawn or curtailed in order to hasten a reform which, when once obtained, will make all other reforms come more quickly, and will establish them on a more lasting basis."

"Some months ago this Association sent out circulars calling on its members and others to decline subscriptions to all educational and philanthropic work until such time as women should get the vote. This was justified by a number of its leaders, and some at least are consistently carrying it out. And now in another form the same thing is being attempted. Verily, this is certainly 'doing evil that good may come' with a vengeance. And so, in an effort to cripple the various attempts to ameliorate the condition of the indigent, the disease and suffering of all classes, the women of the National Suffrage Association seek to show their fitness to take up the arduous responsibilities of government, and by this very effort, further demonstrate their unfitness, if further demonstration is necessary. It seems incredible that some really good, well-meaning women could become so obsessed with an idea as to lose all conception of the relation of that idea to life, and so obsessed with the idea of their own importance to the world as to lose sight of the fact that it is only colossal vanity after all. Ideas, reasons, statements, claims are advanced, and reasoning employed, in the suffrage cause that would be ridiculed by the Suffragists themselves, if used to further any other movement. This is, of course, only a prelude to disintegration,

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

and people in general will continue to prevent all the damage they can until this 'great wind passes by, for the Lord is not in the wind.' "TRUTH.

"PHILADELPHIA, March 26th."

EDITOR'S NOTE: The chairman of the organization committee of the National Woman's Suffrage Party is Miss M. Cary Thomas, president of Byrn Mawr College.

WOMAN'S LEAGUE TABOOS BALLOT

(Editorial, Washington Herald)

The Woman's Municipal League in New York exists for the purpose of promoting among women an intelligent interest in municipal affairs. Its president, Mrs. Edward R. Hewitt, tells of some of the things that the league has accomplished, and speaks of broader purposes which she believes are particularly woman's public work. One is the problem of feeble-minded children; another eugenics. She thinks that women have a more intimate interest in and understanding of these things, their privilege as the mothers of the race giving them an advantage.

She does not count the effort for suffrage as a part of this advancement of women. She does not believe in it for women, and thinks its quest a waste of strength and dissipation of resources. Woman's field, she contends, should be unobstructed by the political cares and responsibilities of suffrage, and she should be left free to exercise her greatest usefulness.

Woman is no longer exclusively interested in cooking and housework, however much she should be mistress of these as part of the home-making, "as every sane woman wishes to be." With the increasing and broadening of education, women are playing a greater part in general economic and social work. She believes that there are no problems of this kind that will not be solved. Even the puzzle of divorce will work itself out, so there is no cause for worry over the domestic hearth. Society simply is undergoing a change from individualism into groupism.

Heretofore women gave themselves to work of compassion. Now they are seeking the causes that lead to the old conditions that called for pity, and their aim is to remedy them.

Mrs. Hewitt says that the most notable work that the women of New York have been doing is studying industrial conditions, out of which will come a contribution to the settlement of the marriage problem. Along with this are proper public amusements. Young people must have amusement as well as work, and for the great mass of the young in cities amusements must be safeguarded. It is a wide vision that Mrs. Hewitt has, and she indicates a field for women beside which the crazy strife for a place in the political arena looks like a scene out of bedlam.

MISS WILSON THINKS VOTE UNNECESSARY

The following dispatch from Baltimore was printed in the *New York Times* of April 24th:

Miss Margaret Wilson, daughter of the President, sounded the keynote in the session of the council of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to-day. Directly after the council was opened Miss Wilson was introduced. She received a very enthusiastic greeting.

"Splendid hospitality has been shown to me," said she. "I thank you heartily. Let me plead for women to take an active part in politics. Let them work from a social center, when public questions are concerned, and have their opinions heard. In this way—and mainly in this way—can the real woman make her influence be felt."

Strong approval met the sentiment of the brief address.

"Did you mean that women should use the suffrage?" was asked of Miss Wilson.

"No," was her smiling reply. "It is not necessary, I feel."

"TO THE EDITOR OF THE PROTEST.

"DEAR MADAM: Through a misunderstanding an item has appeared in your columns to the effect that The Guidon Club was in some way affiliated with New York State Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. A few women are members of both, but The Guidon Club is, and has always been, an entirely independent organization. The error arose through the fact that when it was formed some such connection was contemplated, but the clause in the constitution providing for it was not made effective.

"The two bodies, while harmonious and working to the same general end, have distinct fields and distinct methods of operation. The Guidon Club was founded when the suffrage movement began openly to merge with Socialism, and its intent was to study and to oppose that ominous phase of the question. This matter should be fully understood in justice to the older members of The Guidon Club, who know that there was never a connection, and to the new, enlarged membership of men and women that has joined an independent body, and of whom some have asked for explanation, which I know you wish to give.

"For myself, I earnestly hope that many anti-suffrage organizations and many periodicals will arise to meet other crises of this all-important work—the most momentous that has ever been laid upon the women of this land, who must refound a society whose destructive, irreligious, Socialistic trend is now evident to all.

"Wishing ever broader success and more rapid advance to the State Association, as well as to the cause that we all represent, I am,

"Sincerely yours,

"HELEN K. JOHNSON,

"President Guidon Club Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

"3 West 87th St., April 25, 1913."

Mrs. Harry Stanton Blatch says that the "antis" are liars; which gives an accurate line on the ticket Mrs. Blatch is going to vote.—From the *Washington Post*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Miss Addams quotes countries where women do not vote as models for all desirable legislation.

When Suffragists bring grievances to light, the grievances are reformed, but votes for women are again proved to be unnecessary.

"Women do vote in Colorado," said Professor Corbin at the suffrage hearing before the Connecticut legislature. "The bosses see to it that they do."

"I would advise the study of law for every woman," Mrs. Max Eastman announced in a speech asking for equal suffrage, "if only in order to teach her a proper disregard for it."

The obvious conclusion of all suffrage arguments is that only Suffragists can cast an enlightened and intelligent vote. They are constantly calling our attention to the ignorance, venality and prejudice of all other women. What a pity then that Suffragists are a minority of women!

Unprotected young girls have been advised to stay away from San Francisco during the exposition to be held there in 1915. Miss Ella Schooley, an officer of the Young Women's Christian Association there, has issued a warning that it will not be a safe place for them. Is it possible that such conditions exist in spite of the woman's vote?

Miss Clara A. Jess, the first woman appointed to judicial position in California, has resigned her position as recorder of Daly City, a suburb of San Francisco, in which her duties were equivalent to those of Justice of Peace. Miss Jess gives as her reason for resigning, "Women could not stand the nervous strain of meeting the opposition they were sure to encounter in such a position."

"I did not know what I was getting into," Miss Jess explained when she tendered her resignation.

The super-woman is reminiscent of the old pagan superstition of demi-goddesses. They were the children of gods and mortals. Suffragists hope to produce a superlative race by the mating of super-men and super-women. But super-men have an irritating way of choosing their own partners, and they are frequently not even Suffragists. Thus the race is continually

held back to mediocrity. Votes for women will enable Suffragists to legislate for a removal of this difficulty.

The worst thing on earth is the person who is "perfectly willing to accept responsibility" without the smallest idea of what responsibility means. Under this head comes the man who marries without a settled position; the woman who wants to govern without the smallest knowledge of law, political economy or finance or the ability to enforce judgment; the married woman with children who desires a political career. Responsible women realize that the average woman does not possess the qualities or mental attributes desirable in government.

Some 500 women in England who want to vote are terrorizing English society, and according to their own boast, the English government as well, as a means of obtaining what they think they want. But why is English society and the English government terrorized? Surely not because 500 lawless people are breaking windows and heads. Not at all, but because the 500 are *women*, whose sex protects them. If those 500 were men a quietus would have been put upon their acts long ago. But they are women and are in a cowardly manner hiding behind the protection afforded their sex. An invisible armor of respect won by women who have no sympathy for their cause protects women who profess to despise the armor which they nevertheless are raising to accomplish their purpose of destruction.

Political offenders fight in the open and give and take the exigencies of war and accept the conditions imposed by war. The militant Suffragettes use the shield of womanhood, knowing well that behind it they will not be attacked as political offenders would be. Their case is analogous to the early tribe which placed their women in front when they went to war and, like those cowards of early times, reap what they deserve—only contempt.

Now it is not because a handful of women in England are acting in this way that we blame the Suffragists of America. It is because our country-women are giving them not contempt, but applause and financial support, as is publicly announced.

Credit was given in the April issue of THE PROTEST to Miss Gertrude A. W. Seibert for the poem "Woman's Mission." Miss Seibert advises us that the poem was written by Lady Abergavenny of England.

There is a new suffrage organization in England called the Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom. It will try to persuade Mr. Asquith to remove his obstruction to the suffrage bill by the "power of concentrated thought." Fifty women have pledged themselves to concentrate their thoughts at noon every day on votes for women.—*Woman's Journal*.

There is only one objection to this: "Thought would destroy their Paradise." However, it seems harmless and more attractive than some other methods which have been recommended. Fancy the effect of the concentrated thoughts of fifty Suffragists at once. Mr. Asquith will probably feel constrained by some dominating hypnotic force to go at once to the House of Commons and withdraw all opposition. Those who have resisted the physical force of Mrs. Pankhurst's army will at once succumb to all this concentrated brain power.

Quotation from speech made by Mrs. Philip Snowden, wife of a British member of Parliament, at the Hall of Industrial Education, Dayton, Ohio: "Any woman who allows her father, brother or even her husband to be the only wage-earner in the family is no better than a kept woman of the streets."

This quotation inspired the following poem by Florence Goff Schwarz:

A host of women move across the years;
I single one apart from all the rest,
'Tis she who toiled up Calvary's rock-
hill crest,
Whose life was sacrifice, whose wage was
—tears.

Now follow those who march with falt'ring
pace,
Unpaid for labor, days of toil and care,
Save toll of shrunken frame and whi-
tened hair,
The peerless mothers of a mighty race.

No wage claimed they; in lieu of paltry
dross
Gold of the soul was theirs, untarnished
—fine;
Minted above and touched with love
divine
By One who knew the burden of the cross.

Comes one whose hiss is blight, in lurid
red
Her words burn insult; Hell and Heaven
meet,
Comparing saints with women of the
street;
Thus "fools rush in where angels fear to
tread."

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Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) *G. K. Chesterton*Votes for Women (.10) *Frederic Harrison*Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel Tayler*The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*

Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)

Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quo-
tations. These can be obtained by applying to

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE
COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Sub-
scription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23d Street, N. Y. Also, THE
REMONSTRANCE; subscription, 50 cents; 687 Boylston
St., Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association
Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women:
Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage

Francis Parkman

Of What Benefit to Woman?

Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*Argument Before Committee *Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells*Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcraft*Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*The Wage-earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women
and Not to Men

Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage

In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women
(a List of Massachusetts Men)Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained
from the Secretary of the Association
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